

89TH CONGRESS 1st Session	}	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	}	REPORT No. 629
------------------------------	---	--------------------------	---	-------------------

FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

JULY 20, 1965.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State
of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WILLIS, from the Committee on Un-American Activities,
submitted the following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H.R. 9713]

The Committee on Un-American Activities, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 9713) to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy; to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle between freedom and communism; to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge; and, also, to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

AMENDMENTS

The amendments are as follows:

Page 22, immediately after line 7, insert the following:

(3) one Member of the Senate selected by the Members of the Senate who are members of the political party having the second greatest number of members in the Senate; and one Member of the House of Representatives selected by the Members of the House of Representatives who are members of the political party having the second greatest number of members in the House of Representatives,

Page 22, line 8, strike out "(3)" and insert in lieu thereof "(4)".

PURPOSE

The purpose of the bill as amended is to establish a research and educational institution as an independent agency of the U.S. Government, to assist in the development of methods and means employable in both the governmental and private sectors to counter all forms of Communist political warfare, subversion, and insurgency, while seeking to preserve and build free and viable societies, and to provide information and knowledge on these subjects for governmental personnel, private citizens, and foreign nationals.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

The establishment of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy was first proposed by Mr. Herlong in the 86th Congress when he filed the bill, H.R. 3880, on February 2, 1959. This bill was referred to this committee. Following the introduction of H.R. 3880 by Mr. Herlong, additional bills were filed in the 86th Congress by Mr. Judd (H.R. 3881), Mr. Jackson (H.R. 4803), Mr. Bennett (H.R. 4988), Mr. Griffin (H.R. 13166), Mr. Gubser (H.R. 13167), Mr. Westland (H.R. 13227), and Mr. Robison (H.R. 13246).

This committee requested and received the views of the Departments of State and Justice on H.R. 3880. In a letter dated July 23, 1959, the Department of State advised that it was in agreement with the basic purpose of the Freedom Academy—

whose principal functions would be the development of systematic knowledge about the international Communist conspiracy, the development of counteraction to the conspiracy into an operational science, and the education and training of private citizens and Government employees of the United States and other countries in these matters.

The Department of State added:

The challenge of international communism requires that we discern and fully understand the various facets of the Communist menace and correctly evaluate its every move and thrust. For this purpose, it is the Department's belief that it must increase the number of its personnel who are experts in this field and whose full time can be devoted to observing the maneuvers of international communism on a global scale and in formulating policies, devices, and tactics to meet these maneuvers.

The Department said it was considering ways and means by which it could improve the training of Foreign Service officers in this area, but that there would "seem to be" no need to create a new agency to accomplish the objectives of the Freedom Academy, because existing agencies could be used with less risk of confusion, overlapping of responsibilities, and duplication of effort. The Department of Justice expressed the same view in a letter dated May 18, 1959.

On April 15, 1959, S. 1689, a companion bill to H.R. 3880, was introduced in the Senate by Messrs. Mundt and Douglas, which was referred to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The bill was subsequently reported by the Senate committee, and passed the Senate on August 31, 1960. There

was no opportunity for action on the bill by the House in view of the adjournment of Congress 1 day later.

Twelve Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy bills were introduced in the 87th Congress and referred to this committee; namely, H.R. 1845 by Mr. Westland, H.R. 2708 by Mr. Griffin, H.R. 6207 by Mrs. Pfof, H.R. 6982 by Mr. Schweiker, H.R. 7562 by Mr. King, H.R. 8935 by Mr. Herlong, H.R. 8936 by Mr. Judd, H.R. 8937 by Mr. Rogers, H.R. 8954 by Mr. Griffin (a revision), H.R. 9428 by Mr. Gubser, H.R. 9463 by Mr. Randall, and H.R. 12629 by Mr. Halpern.

This committee again requested the views of the Department of State. On June 7, 1962, the Department of State declared that the—

Freedom Academy bills urge, correctly, in the Department's view, that in our struggle with the forces of tyranny—and communism in particular—we must employ not only military strength but also all of the political, psychological, economic, and other nonmilitary means at our disposal.

The State Department then proceeded, however, to advance a number of reasons why it opposed the bill, including the fact that a special course, designed for senior officers of the State Department and other Government agencies assigned to newly developing countries, was soon to be added to the curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute.

In the Senate, S. 822 was introduced by Mr. Mundt and 11 others; namely, Messrs. Douglas, Case, Dodd, Smathers, Goldwater, Proxmire, Fong, Butler, Hickenlooper, Miller, and Keating, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There was no action in the 87th Congress in either the Senate or the House.

In the 88th Congress, nine bills were offered in the House to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy and referred to this committee; namely, H.R. 352 by Mr. Herlong, H.R. 1617 by Mr. Gubser, H.R. 5368 by Mr. Boggs, H.R. 8320 by Mr. Taft, H.R. 8757 by Mr. Schweiker, H.R. 10036 by Mr. Ashbrook, H.R. 10037 by Mr. Clausen, H.R. 10077 by Mr. Schadeberg, and H.R. 11718 by Mr. Talcott.

The committee requested views of various agencies of the executive branch on the bills pending in the 88th Congress. The Department of State, in a letter dated April 8, 1963, declared that—

By its very nature, the struggle against communism permeates all aspects of American foreign affairs, and is inseparable from other international activities. Our Government cannot fight communism in a vacuum. . . . it is impossible to develop and sustain an effective strategy for opposing communism and promoting freedom unless this strategy embraces the whole spectrum of foreign affairs.

The Department again stated that it shared the basic objectives of the Freedom Academy bill:

We agree fully as to the magnitude of the Communist threat and the diverse forms it has taken, and agree that the protection of our national security and the extension of human freedom demands a titanic and protracted effort by the United States—that our Nation must, to use the words

of President Kennedy, "intensify our efforts for a struggle in many ways more difficult than war." The Department agrees that a "wide range of additional methods and means . . . must be worked out and integrated with existing instruments of policy."

The State Department agreed that "a new institution for advance research and training is needed," but nevertheless again opposed the establishment of a Freedom Commission and Academy, claiming this time that the proposed creation of the National Academy of Foreign Affairs was "the most practical and realistic approach" to the problem.

The Department of Defense and the U.S. Information Agency, in letters dated respectively March 29, 1963, and April 19, 1963, also opposed the creation of a Freedom Commission and Academy for the same reason.

The committee held extensive hearings upon the bills in February, April, and May of 1964. The only witness from the executive departments to testify on the subject was the Honorable W. Averell Harriman, who appeared on behalf of the Department of State in opposition to the pending bills. He expressed the view that the National Academy of Foreign Affairs proposal was a "more appropriate and more effective way to accomplish" the basic objectives of the proponents of the Freedom Academy. There was no further action in the House.

In the Senate, S. 414 was introduced by Mr. Mundt, for himself and Messrs. Douglas, Case, Dodd, Smathers, Goldwater, Proxmire, Fong, Hickenlooper, Miller, Keating, Lausche, and Scott. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to which S. 414 was referred, held consolidated hearings on the bill and on S. 865, a bill to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. No report on these bills was made by the Senate committee.

In the 89th Congress, 10 bills to establish a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy were introduced in the House; namely, H.R. 470 by Mr. Herlong, H.R. 1033 by Mr. Gubser, H.R. 2215 by Mr. Ichord, H.R. 2379 by Mr. Boggs, H.R. 4389 by Mr. Gurney, H.R. 5370 by Mr. Clausen, H.R. 5784 by Mr. Ashbrook, H.R. 6700 by Mr. Buchanan, H.R. 9209 by Mr. Feighan, and H.R. 9713 by Mr. Ichord. In the Senate, Mr. Mundt, for himself and Messrs. Case, Dodd, Douglas, Fong, Hickenlooper, Miller, Prouty, Proxmire, Scott, and Smathers, filed S. 1232 on February 19, 1965.

It is to be noted that all bills introduced on this subject over the years have been substantially the same in relation to their purpose and provisions, with one major distinction. Some bills have provided for an Advisory Committee, others for a Joint Congressional Freedom Committee, to assist and oversee the operations of the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. In the 89th Congress, all bills with the exception of H.R. 1033 of Mr. Gubser and H.R. 7895 of Mr. Ashbrook, make provision for an Advisory Committee.

All the bills that provide for an Advisory Committee, with the exception of H.R. 9713, constitute it solely of representatives of certain executive agencies, for the purpose of insuring cooperation between the Academy and these agencies, as well as to review the operations of the Commission and report its findings annually to the President and the Congress. H.R. 9713 differs from these bills in that it enlarges the Advisory Committee to include additional exec-

utive agencies, and also members of committees of the Senate and House principally concerned with the Commission's objectives and having appropriate oversight functions, representation by the minority party in the Senate and House, and representation from the private sector.

The Joint Congressional Freedom Committee differs from the Advisory Committee in that it is composed solely of Members of Congress, seven each from the Senate and House, to make studies of the activities of the Commission, to hold hearings on matters relating to it, and to report the committee's recommendations to the Congress by bill or otherwise.

On February 10, 1965, this committee again requested the views of various agencies of the executive department, including the Departments of State, Justice, Defense, and the U.S. Information Agency. Replies, to date, were received from the Departments of State and Defense, and are appended to this report. It is noted that in its letter of March 29, 1965, in which the State Department again opposed the proposed Freedom Academy, it abandoned the major reason which it had advanced for doing so in 1963, making no mention of a proposed National Academy of Foreign Affairs as the most realistic and practical approach to the problem. It advanced a number of new reasons for its opposition, including the claim that the creation of a Freedom Academy would be "a marked departure from the traditional role of the Federal Government in the field of political education."

The Department of Defense, in a letter dated April 5, 1965, stated that, while the broad objectives of the proposed legislation are praiseworthy, it questioned the need for the establishment of a Freedom Commission and Academy to accomplish those objectives and deferred to the State Department and other agencies for "more authoritative views" on the matter.

The committee held several additional days of hearings on the bills in this session of Congress. It again extended an invitation to the Department of State to testify. The Department informed the committee that it would rely on the above-mentioned letter as an expression of its position.

In all, the committee has held 12 days of hearings on the Freedom Academy bills, 7 in the 88th Congress, and 5 in the 89th. A total of 51 individuals and organizations have appeared as witnesses or submitted statements. Five of these did so in the hearings held during the 88th Congress and again during those held during this session. An outstanding fact of the hearings was that everyone of these 51 individuals and organizations supported the Freedom Academy bills with the exception of Mr. Harriman, who, as previously mentioned, testified for the State Department in the hearings held during the last Congress.

Moreover, the committee was impressed by the caliber of the witnesses who supported the Academy concept and the extent and depth of their knowledge of cold war problems. Among them were 4 former Ambassadors, 2 of whom had also served as Assistant Secretaries of State (another former Ambassador who wished to testify for the Freedom Academy was prevented from doing so at the last moment by illness in his family and urgent business abroad); 2 persons who have served abroad as officials of the Department of State, USIA, and Agency for International Development and have participated in high-level policy meetings of the Government; 2

witnesses who have served for many years as officials in the trade union movement; 6 university professors who have spent many years studying, teaching, and writing on the subject of communism (11 of the witnesses who testified in favor of the Academy have authored at least 40 books dealing with the subject of communism, diplomacy, and international relations); 6 journalists who have spent years abroad and distinguished themselves as commentators on foreign affairs, reporters, and war correspondents; 13 Members of the House and 1 Senator; the President of the Free Europe Committee; the founder and President of Project Hope; and the former Chief of Naval Operations.

The Freedom Academy bills were also strongly supported by organizations such as the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Reserve Officers Association. Exhibits introduced in the committee hearings indicated that over the years the proposal for a Freedom Academy had been endorsed by the AFL-CIO, several leading national magazines and outstanding newspapers, and that a nationwide Gallup Poll had revealed that the American people overwhelmingly favored the creation of a Freedom Academy.

The committee completed its hearings on the Freedom Academy bills on May 14, 1965. On July 8, 1965, a subcommittee of this committee met to consider the bills. Certain amendments to Mr. Ichord's bill, H.R. 2215, were proposed and agreed to. It was further unanimously agreed that Mr. Ichord would introduce a clean bill, which would incorporate the amendments agreed to by the subcommittee, to be favorably reported to the committee. Pursuant thereto, Mr. Ichord introduced H.R. 9713 on July 8, 1965. A meeting of the full committee was convened on July 9, 1965, all members thereof being in attendance. It was unanimously agreed that the bill, H.R. 9713, be favorably reported to the House with the amendments herein set forth.

The members of this committee have favorably reported this bill by unanimous vote after hearing scores of witnesses and hours of expert testimony. After extensive study of the facts, the many pages of testimony, and the exploration of available alternatives, the committee feels that the institution to be established by this legislation is a vital and much needed agency to assist the free world in winning the cold war.

STATEMENT

The Communist ideology teaches the inevitability of Communist world conquest and also the duty of all Communists to work ceaselessly for the destruction of non-Communist governments. It also teaches that the United States, being the most serious obstacle to the achievement of Communist objectives, is the main enemy of Communists in all parts of the world. Because of their adherence to this ideology and the actions they have taken over the years in advancing its objectives, the international forces of communism pose a long-range threat to the United States and all non-Communist nations. Moreover, they constitute an immediate threat to the freedom of many of the smaller and weaker nations of the world, particularly those in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In 1917, Communists seized control of the first nation to come within their power. With a relative handful of men,¹ they succeeded in taking over a nation that encompassed 10 percent of the world's population and approximately 1½ percent of its land mass. Today, 48 years later, they have expanded their power to the point where they control 35 percent of the world's population and over 26 percent of its land mass. They rule at least 18 nations and have organized Communist parties in virtually every one of the hundred-odd countries of the world. Some of these parties in the non-Communist nations are so large (numbering millions), well-organized, and tightly disciplined that they exercise powerful influence on the political and economic life of the host countries and constitute a continuing threat of armed insurrection.

Yet, today, when the world population is estimated to be approximately 3,200,000,000 persons, the Communist parties of the world claim a total membership of less than 45 million. Less than 2 percent of the world's population, in other words, has succeeded in dominating 35 percent and threatening the freedom of many millions more.

The Communists of the world have obviously made extraordinary conquests. Moreover, they have done this during a period in which the nations they have controlled have been relatively poor and markedly inferior to many of the nations of the non-Communist world in industry, agriculture, technology, science, culture, and military power. In addition, they have made some of their most significant advances (the conquests of Eastern Europe and Mainland China, for example) while the United States had the monopoly of the most destructive weapon then known to man—the atomic bomb.

Recent developments in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and South Vietnam, to name just a few of the Communist-created trouble spots of the world, drive home forcefully the continuing danger communism poses to this and all other non-Communist nations, and its ability, with relatively small forces, to threaten or overturn existing governments.

Clearly, if freedom is to remain a distinguishing characteristic of our civilization, if world peace and the national interests of the United States are to be preserved, communism must be decisively countered and checked.

Communism can be checked. Despite its fanatical efforts to conquer the world, carried on over a period of more than half a century, and despite the utter ruthlessness of the methods it has employed to achieve its goals, probably 95 percent of the world's population rejects communism and 65 percent of it—about 2 billion people—live in non-Communist societies and still control 74 percent of the earth's land mass.

In addition, discontent and resistance to the government and party exist in every Communist nation; the monolithic unity of world communism has been weakened, although Communists are still dedicated to world conquest and particularly the destruction of the United States; the Communist powers have consistently demonstrated fear of, and avoided, an all-out conventional military confrontation with the United States and its allies; communism has suffered many setbacks—such as those in Guatemala and Brazil, to cite just two examples.

¹ Recently discovered documents indicate that the Bolshevik Party had considerably less than 40,000 members (in a nation with a population of 182 million) when it overthrew the Kerensky government.

Analysis of the extensive testimony and data received by the committee in the Freedom Academy hearings leads to the following conclusions:

Communists have expanded their power more widely and at a more rapid rate than any would-be world conquerors of the past.

They have done so by developing a new form of warfare which has enabled them to render conventional military power ineffective in many situations. The new form of warfare is variously referred to as nonmilitary, political, unconventional, total, or fourth-dimensional warfare, protracted conflict, etc.

There is recognition of this new type of warfare, in varying degrees, in the non-Communist world. On the whole, however, the United States and other non-Communist nations have not, to date, made an adequate or full effort to study and analyze it in order to find out how it can be countered and defeated.

Communist capabilities in this new type of warfare are the result of a massive development and training program which began decades ago, in secret, conspiratorial meetings and has been continued in and through a vast network of so-called political warfare or political training schools established as major institutions in Communist countries and on a smaller, clandestine basis in non-Communist nations. Testimony received by the committee indicates that Lenin had established three such political warfare schools prior to 1917; one near Paris, another at Bologna, and a third on the isle of Capri. Graduates of these schools helped overthrow the Kerensky government. The Lenin Institute, one of the Communists' major schools of political warfare, was established in Moscow in the midtwenties. A number of former U.S. Communists, who attended the Lenin Institute in Moscow, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities as long ago as 1939 and revealed some of the things they were taught in the field of political warfare. One testified as follows:

Our theoretical studies consisted of Marxian economics; Leninism, which is called "philosophy" there; trade unionism, that is, trade union strike strategy; labor history; the history of the two internationals; the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our other studies were military science. We studied how to dismantle the weapons of the leading countries; that is, their main weapons, such as rifles or machineguns, and so on. I also studied secret service, codes. We studied strategy, beginning with the organization of a fraction—a shop fraction—clear up to the control of a trade union, or mass organization, and developed the political parallel along with it. That is, the ideological development of the people under the influence of these fractions, and when a certain strategy applies at a certain time, and how to change that consequent upon the development of the political understanding of a person and lead him up to the higher stage, and eventually using all of these developments that we were going to consciously carry out, to make a revolution. So hence we studied the details of how to develop street fights. I mean how to do barricade fighting, how to seize control of a city, the most strategic, economically, and technically strategic points, and so on. . . .

We were given regular military training. That is, we studied military science, strategy, such as is general in almost all countries. The strategy is pretty much the same, except in countries of different geographical situations, and so on. We had target practice and all that. Then we were taught what is called partisan warfare, the science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising. It is not done legitimately and openly. You don't march in brigades and fight like armies that are meeting each other. . . .

The conspiratory type of warfare. It is related to the boring-in process, street fighting, and how to mobile in blocks, the blocks in a city, the workers in a plant; how to develop a general strike out of a local strike; how to develop a general strike into a city uprising, a city uprising into a national uprising, coordinating all these different uprisings. Then how to lead this thing, once it is raised, once these men are on the warpath, how to direct them. Then we come to something like open warfare. We break these people down into groups; we make armies on the basis of the immediate emergency of the moment, or whatever the situation may be. We were given to know that in a revolutionary situation you cannot follow out mechanically any particular plan, only your objective. It is a tense situation. Therefore a party having an organization, with its fingers on everything—every portion of the city and its population, that it can depend on—is prepared to direct all its forces in the way they should be.

Question. Were you taught to concentrate particularly on utilities and munitions plants, or anything to that effect?

Answer. The food supply, the warehouses, the utilities—that is, water and lights, gas, and all those things—the communications, that is, the railways entering the city, the streetcar service, telephone service, and telegraph, and all those things.

Sabotage; how to wreck trains, at this point closing down factories, facilitating discontent to raise the mob spirit in order to get the men on the go, and various other acts of sabotage, which of course could be attempted on a moment's notice. Also the general method of derailing a train and destroying its cargo. I mean, if it is going to be available for the enemy, just put it full speed ahead when you know there is another train coming head on, and just step aside.

We were given instruction in code, how to decipher codes, and shown the possibilities of working out our own code, and an elaborate system of securing information that under legal conditions is not unusual. It is the Communist routine of finding out what is the grievance of a man employed in a particular plant, what are his family problems. I mean, what is his level of understanding, what are his weaknesses, what are his strong points, keep up with him, keep a regular history of his activities, his developments, and so on. All this is available for our organizational department, and for the various section and unit organizational work. This is a form of conspiracy, it is a form of spying on people.

The witness who gave the above testimony stated that he attended the Lenin Institute from September 1931 to December 1932 and that there were approximately 30 other U.S. Communists there at the time. In 1939, Earl Browder, then the leader of the U.S. Communist Party, testified that, to his knowledge, from 120 to 150 members of the U.S. Communist Party had attended the Lenin Institute.

Since the founding of the Lenin Institute, many additional institutions of its type have been established in Communist nations, and hundreds have been set up secretly in non-Communist countries.

A survey of Communist political training or warfare schools, prepared by the Department of State at the request of the committee, was made a part of the record of the hearings on the Freedom Academy bills. This report reveals that, at the present time, there are at least seven schools of political warfare operating in the Soviet Union, nine in East Germany, nine in Cuba, four in Czechoslovakia, three in Hungary and two in Bulgaria. A network of such schools has been established in Cuba, where there is a school for security personnel, one for teachers, one for labor leaders, five for Communist Party leaders, functionaries, and activists, and a number of "higher party schools" which are major institutions giving extensive and varied training in all forms of political warfare. Red China is also operating political warfare schools. While their number is not known, it has been established that they specialize in training Latin American and African Communists.

Courses taught in these political warfare schools, according to the State Department document, include such subjects as Marxist-Leninist doctrine, how to put theory into practice, the history of communism, the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (or of China or other Communist nations), the structure of the Soviet (or Chinese or other) Communist Party, philosophy, political economy, international relations, languages, the economy of Communist nations, history of the labor movement, history of "national liberation" movements, organizational techniques, techniques to be employed in organizing and manipulating trade unions and in building united "anti-imperialist" fronts, guerrilla warfare, paramilitary activities, clandestine party work, organizational work within various types of mass groups, sabotage techniques, military strategy, weapons training, the use of explosives, youth work, and methods of introducing Communist organizations and influence into rural areas.

The length of the courses taught at these schools varies from several months to 4 years. Only party members are accepted in some schools, non-Communists are accepted in others. Thousands of graduates of these schools are turned out each year. Some of the schools are national, others international in character. Certain schools specialize in training of Communists from particular areas, such as Asia, Africa, or Latin America. Others specialize in training people of a particular trade or profession. Within the last few years, for example, three special schools have been set up for the training of journalists—one in Czechoslovakia, one in Hungary, and one in East Germany. They specialize in the training of Latin Americans, Asians, and Africans, with emphasis on the latter. Some of the schools are run by the Communist Party, some by the Young Communist League, some by trade unions, and others by professional bodies of various types.

The State Department stressed the fact that the information contained in its survey was incomplete, that it contained no data at all on the secret political warfare training of Communist intelligence service personnel, and also no data concerning the "extensive military training programs, as well as the paramilitary and guerrilla training projects" provided by various Communist governments (with the exception of Red China). It emphasized that Communist countries "are currently giving extensive training" to Communists from the free world, that this training is a strategically important Communist "export" and contributes "to the promotion of revolution and attempts to seize power throughout the world."

The graduates of these Communist schools of political warfare are aptly described as "conflict managers," capable of orchestrating all the instruments of political warfare in a total attack on a target country. They employ political, ideological, psychological, sociological, technological, organizational, economic, military, and paramilitary weapons in their assault. Their strategy is phased over decades in a well-integrated operational pattern. It is designed to outflank conventional military defenses. It attacks not troops, but political, social, educational, religious, and other institutions with the view of so weakening the fabric of the nation that Communist forces will be able to seize power.

Returning to their native lands, these skilled political warfare specialists join in the Communists' total war against their respective countries. They are aided by older native graduates of these schools, by a steady flow of new ones—and also by foreign Communist governments which supply them with propaganda material, weapons, specialists of various kinds as they are needed, etc.

Working with the "civilian" army of Communists of which they are a part, these Communist conflict managers infiltrate—to weaken, wreck, manipulate, and control—political parties, the civil service, key ministries, the press and other communications media, schools, colleges, and universities, professional groups, trade unions (particularly those in basic industries), student groups, churches, and mass organizations of all kinds.

They seize upon all available injustices, problems, and conflicts and work to magnify and exacerbate rather than cure them. They promote dissatisfaction with the ruling party or government, create national, class, and religious dissension, and foment strikes, riots, and demonstrations.

At the appropriate time, they resort to military operations—of a guerrilla or partisan rather than conventional type. These forces use hit-and-run tactics and avoid pitched battles with the regular forces of the government until the government has been weakened internally and they have built up their own strength to the point where they believe they can achieve a military victory.

While the domestic Communists are carrying on this internal warfare against their native lands, foreign Communist governments, parties, and fronts are assisting by attacking the target country in the international arena. Again, this attack is usually not military in the initial stages, but is waged on the economic, diplomatic, and propaganda fronts.

Because of the nature of this new type of warfare, military forces alone are not an adequate defense for any country. Moreover, when other nations are under attack, mere military assistance and/or tech-

nical and dollar aid from the United States are not sufficient. Reliance on these weapons alone will not defeat the Communists. It leaves key fronts undefended.

Communist total warfare attacks a society as a whole, not just that element which wears uniforms and is organized in formal military units. It makes all agencies and institutions, governmental and private, combatants in the global struggle. Adequate defense therefore requires that all institutions and individuals not only understand communism and its methods of attack, but also how its wrecking efforts can be resisted and defeated. The military must understand this; so must Government officials on all levels and civilians in all walks of life—businessmen and workers, clergymen and professors, peasants and housewives. A nation's defenses are only as strong as its people's knowledge of communism and their will to resist it.

Moreover, because the Communist attack is international as well as national in scope, adequate defense requires cooperative action between nations, mutual assistance in resisting Communist political warfare.

The challenge to the United States and its allies today is not to atomize the military installations and capital cities of world communism. Rather, it is to meet the Communists on all fields of battle in this new form of warfare and emerge victorious in order that nuclear war may be prevented.

Because of communism's goals, its huge military forces, its desperate rush to outstrip the non-Communist world in nuclear weapons, it is absolutely vital that the United States maintain a powerful balance of military might and that it vigorously pursue research and development in the field of weaponry. This part of the free world's defense cannot be neglected.

But to do this alone is not enough. In total war, military defense is only partial defense. Today, the major gap in world resistance to communism, the largely undefended front, is the front of nonmilitary or political warfare. The United States has led the organization and development of the free world's military defense in the global struggle. It is imperative that it now take the lead in developing its total defense by closing the serious gap that exists on the front which, in the long run, could be as decisive as the military front.

If this country and other non-Communist nations are to realize their full capacity to engage in the type of global struggle which has been forced upon them, it is essential that a thoroughgoing program of research, education, and training in the area of Communist political warfare be established. The requirements of such a program are as follows:

- (1) Policymakers and Government personnel at many levels must understand communism in depth, with special emphasis on Communist conflict techniques.

- (2) At the upper levels of Government we must have, in addition, officials who understand the full range of methods and means by which this Nation and its allies can meet the Communist attack and work toward our global objectives systematically. This means that they will have to master a broad range of nonmilitary measures which have yet to be developed and systematized.

- (3) Below this level, agency personnel must be trained to understand and implement this integrated strategy in all of its dimensions.

- (4) The public must have greater understanding of communism,

its objectives, tactics, and methods, especially Communist conflict techniques and the nature of the global struggle, to insure public support of the Nation's efforts to counter Communist aggression. More thorough public knowledge of communism will help prevent the extremism which, frequently arising from misunderstanding or lack of information, creates national dissension and impairs the country's efforts in the global struggle.

(5) The private sector must also be helped in understanding how it can participate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic manner.

(6) It is necessary to assist, and to enlist the support of, other non-Communist countries by training selected foreign nationals. Equal support and understanding among other peoples and our allies are essential if we are to continue moving forward in a concerted effort.

Steps have been taken within the Government and in the private sector to meet these requirements, but much more remains to be done. The research and training programs undertaken to date, both governmental and private, have dealt with only bits and pieces of the problem and have not been fully coordinated. The Nation does not even possess, as Dr. Possony¹ testified, a library adequate to meet the needs of research and training in the area of political warfare. Materials and documentation indispensable to full study and understanding of the Communist threat in all parts of the world have not been collected in any single, convenient depository and, in fact, much is not available anywhere in the country. While there are a few private institutions, such as the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, which maintain noteworthy collections, it is unlikely that any private institution or university could adequately finance or house a library of the scope and size required. Such a library could, however, be developed by the Freedom Commission and Academy.

The various research centers established at a limited number of universities in recent years are of an academic type, devoted principally to area studies and exposition of the internal organization and affairs of Soviet and Chinese block countries. They do not specialize in Communist external political warfare. Moreover, it is not practical to expect private institutions to perform this function in a manner and on a scale adequate to meet the requirements of a global situation. In addition to the problem of funds, they are isolated from the operational agencies of Government and it is not practical to give them access to the classified information so necessary to form a basis for research and study.

Within Government, too, there are no programs or facilities adequate for systematized study, and research in depth, on the many facets of political warfare. Despite excellence in their specialized fields, the war colleges are not equipped to develop experts in political warfare. They are designed as graduate schools for military officers and offer instruction primarily on matters related to conventional warfare, rather than those forms of struggle which extend far beyond the direct responsibility of the military. The Foreign Service Institute, operated by the Department of State primarily for the training of its own personnel, concentrates, as might be expected, on diplomacy, administration, and foreign languages. The instruction it provides on communism and political warfare is extremely limited and far from

¹ Dr. Stefan T. Possony, director, International Political Studies Program, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.

adequate for the times. The U.S. Information Agency's own training program only touches on the subject of communism, and the Agency makes use of the 2-week Foreign Service Institute seminar for its professional personnel. In short, no research and educational institution has been established, in or out of Government, having as an objective and purpose study in depth of the continuing problems raised by Communist conflict techniques.

Implicit in the language and purpose of the bill is the fact that the Freedom Academy is an educational and research institution established for this specific purpose. It is not a policymaking or operational agency. It will be dedicated to teaching an understanding of nonmilitary warfare as waged by the Communists and of devising new methods of combating such warfare.

The claim of the Department of State and other executive agencies that this research and educational program can be handled by existing agencies with less overlapping and confusion, or by an enlarged or improved Foreign Service Institute (the proposed National Academy of Foreign Affairs) is not supported by the record. These existing agencies have specialized functions and already heavy responsibilities the conduct of diplomacy, administration of foreign aid, propaganda activities, and so on. They are not equipped, and should not be expected, to take on the additional, difficult task of operating a major educational, research, and training institution that will deal with such complicated subjects as Communist ideology, doctrine, strategy, tactics, nonmilitary warfare, and the devising of ways and means to combat them. Moreover, it is not desirable, for obvious reasons, that a purely research and educational institution be managed by, or subservient to, an operational agency of the U.S. Government. The fact that, to date, no executive agency has attempted to establish an education and training program for total political warfare indicates that it is highly unlikely this vital task will be undertaken unless an independent agency is established with clear direction and authority to do so, divorced from all other responsibilities. It is considered that the Advisory Committee will be a sufficient instrument for coordinating the activities of the Freedom Commission and Academy with the activities of operating agencies of Government, with benefit to both and so as to avoid any overlapping or confusion of function.

The evidence amply sustains the conclusion that there is a serious gap in the defenses of the United States, and the non-Communist world generally, on the political warfare front; that there is a vital and pressing need for an extensive and thoroughgoing program of education, research, and training in this area to close the gap; that the required program is of such size and scope that it can be adequately organized and financed only by the Federal Government; and that a completely independent agency established for this special purpose, functioning in close contact with appropriate operational agencies, would be best suited to accomplish this objective.

The Freedom Academy, created by H.R. 9713, would fulfill a most urgent and critical need of our time.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1. Short title

This section provides that the act may be cited as the "Freedom Commission Act."

Section 2. Congressional findings and statement of policy

The findings set forth in this section have been amply supported by the public record, as well as by the detailed and extensive testimony and other evidence presented in hearings before this committee.

The record is clear, as the findings state, that the United States faces grave and complex problems in the nonmilitary, as well as military, areas in its efforts to advance its national interests and the ideals of peace and freedom throughout the world; that the Communists have systematically prepared themselves to accomplish their avowed purpose of world domination and the destruction of all non-Communist societies; that as part of this preparation they have developed an extraordinary variety of conflict instruments in the political, psychological, ideological, economic, technological, organizational, and paramilitary areas, enabling them to approach their immediate and long-range objectives along many paths which create unique and unprecedented problems for the United States; that the United States has not instituted a research and training program to develop personnel adequately prepared to cope with these problems; and that to develop our full national capacity to counter these varied forms of Communist nonmilitary warfare and promote world peace the following requirements should receive special attention:

I. At the upper levels of Government the United States must have well-rounded strategists who thoroughly understand communism, the range of instruments utilized by its forces, and the methods and means available to the United States and all freedom-loving people in the global struggle, and who can organize and program these methods and means in an integrated strategy that utilizes the full national capacity;

II. Government personnel must be trained to understand and implement this integrated strategy in all of its dimensions;

III. Foreign affairs and national security personnel at all levels must understand communism, with special emphasis on its nonmilitary conflict techniques;

IV. The private sector must understand how it can participate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic manner;

V. The public must have a deeper understanding of communism, especially Communist nonmilitary conflict techniques and the nature of the global struggle, including the goals of the United States; and

VI. Foreign nationals should have a similar understanding of all forms of Communist subversion and insurgency and should be motivated to achieve the goals of freedom-loving people.

Section 3. Definitions

This section defines terms as used in the act. "Commission" means the Freedom Commission, and the term "Academy" means Freedom Academy.

Section 4. Establishment of the Freedom Commission

This section establishes the Freedom Commission as an independent agency in the executive branch, composed of six members and a Chairman. Each member of the Commission, including the Chairman, has one vote and equal authority in all decisions of the Commission. Four members constitute a quorum, and action of the Commission shall be determined by a majority vote of the members present.

This section is adapted from section 21 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

Section 5. Membership of the Commission

(a) Members of the Commission and the Chairman shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than four members may be members of any one political party. The terms of each member, other than the Chairman who serves at the pleasure of the President, is 6 years. The initial terms of such members are staggered. Each member shall receive a salary of \$28,500 per annum, with the exception of the Chairman who receives \$30,000 per annum. Any member may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

(b) No member of the Commission shall engage in any business or employment other than that of serving as a member of the Commission.

This section is adapted from section 22 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

Section 6. Establishment of the Freedom Academy; principal functions of the Commission and Academy

The Commission is charged with the duty of establishing the Academy under its supervision and control, as the principal Government interdepartmental, educational, and training center for the United States in the nonmilitary area of the global struggle. The principal functions of the Commission and Academy include the conduct of research; the education and training of Government personnel and private citizens; the education and training of foreign nationals when in the national interest and subject to the approval of the Secretary of State; assistance to universities and other institutions to improve their educational programs attuned to the global operational needs of the United States; assistance to training staffs of Government agencies involved in the global struggle; providing a center where Government employees, as well as private citizens and foreign nationals, can discuss and explore common problems in improving the capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle. The Commission is required to report its activities and plans annually to the President and Congress.

Section 7. Student selections; grants; admission of foreign students

(a) Students, other than Government personnel, shall be selected by the Commission from diverse areas and groups within and without the United States where trained leadership and informed public opinion are most needed to meet the objectives of the bill. All agencies and departments of Government are authorized to assign employees to the Academy for designated training.

(b) The Commission is authorized to make grants to students and to pay expenses incident to study, including financial assistance to dependents of students who hold no office or employment under the Federal Government, in such amounts and subject to such regulations as the Commission may deem appropriate.

(c) Foreign students selected for training are to be admitted as nonimmigrants and are deportable for cause.

Section 8. Information center

This section authorizes the Commission to establish an information center. The center's principal function is to disseminate information and materials which will assist people and organizations to increase their understanding of the nature of the global struggle and ways in which they can participate toward winning that struggle. In carrying out this function the Commission is authorized to prepare and publish information and research materials.

The committee believes that the Commission should have authority to publish the product of its research and study, if the purposes of the bill are to be accomplished. "Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profit is in them both?" (Ecclesiasticus, ch. XX).

The national interest in dissemination of information has been recognized even regarding the sensitive area of atomic energy. Section 141 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, expressly sets forth as a principle to guide the Atomic Energy Commission, that, consistent with security—

b. The dissemination of scientific and technical information relating to atomic energy should be permitted and encouraged so as to provide that free interchange of ideas and criticism which is essential to scientific and industrial progress and public understanding and to enlarge the fund of technical information.

This principle applies with equal, if not more, force with respect to information concerning the global struggle.

Section 9. Disclosure of information

The disclosure of information is prohibited in cases where disclosure is contrary to law or is inconsistent with the security of the United States.

Section 10. Security check of personnel

(a) Except in instances where the Commission determines otherwise, consistently with the national interest, it is mandatory that no individual shall be employed or permitted access to classified information, until the Civil Service Commission shall have made an investigation and report to the Commission on the character, associations, and loyalty of each individual and the Commission determines that such employment or access will not endanger the common defense and security. Members and employees of the Commission are expressly declared to occupy positions materially affecting the national security.

(b) and (d) Require reference to the FBI, for conduct of a full field investigation, where data is developed in any of the foregoing investigations that the individual is of questionable loyalty or is a security risk.

(c) At the discretion of the Commission, such investigation and clearance may be required of any individual under consideration for training at the Academy.

(e) Authorizes the President or Commission to require any investigation set forth in subsections (a) or (c) to be made by the FBI.

This section, particularly subsections (a) and (b), conforms to the requirements established under Executive Order 10450, as amended, for employment in departments and agencies of the Government relating to sensitive positions; that is, positions materially affecting the national security. The language of this section is drawn principally from the positions of section 145 of the Atomic Energy Act. In view of the express finding incorporated in subsection (a) above—that all positions occupied by members and employees of the Commission materially affect the national security—it is contemplated that all persons considered for employment by the Commission shall be the subject of a full field investigation.

On the other hand, subsection (c) does not require or contemplate that students or individuals under consideration for training at the Academy shall be the subject of investigation by the Civil Service Commission or Federal Bureau of Investigation. It does, however, authorize investigation in those exceptional instances where such action is deemed necessary in the national interest.

Section 11. General authority of the Commission

This section grants to the Commission conventional administrative powers to carry out the provisions of the act, including the power to establish boards and committees; to appoint and fix the compensation of personnel (in accordance with the civil service laws and Classification Act of 1949, except that in the absence of suitably qualified citizens, noncitizens may be appointed, and, when necessary, members of the faculty may be excepted from the operation of such laws, although in the latter case no member of the faculty shall be paid a salary in excess of the rate provided for GS-18); to conduct research; to make rules and regulations; to make necessary expenditures; to utilize Government facilities and personnel with the approval of the President; to utilize the services of non-Federal governmental personnel and private organizations, and, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to utilize the personnel of a foreign government; to acquire property; to utilize the services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel; and to utilize the services of persons on a temporary basis.

Section 12. General Manager of the Commission

The Commission is authorized to establish a General Manager within the Commission who will discharge such administrative and executive functions as the Commission directs. He is to be appointed by the Commission and shall serve at its pleasure at a salary to be fixed by the Commission but not in excess of \$27,500 per annum.

This provision is adapted from section 24 of the Atomic Energy Act, *supra*.

Section 13. Advisory Committee

In order to assist the Commission and to assure effective cooperation between it, the private sector, and various Government agencies concerned, this section (with amendments) establishes an Advisory

Committee consisting of 20 members, 9 of whom are drawn from the executive agencies, 4 from congressional committees, 2 from the minority party in Congress (1 each from the Senate and House), and 5 from the private sector.

More specifically, the head of each of the following executive agencies appoints one representative: The Department of State; the Department of Defense; the Department of Commerce; the Department of Labor; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Central Intelligence Agency; the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Agency for International Development; and the U.S. Information Agency.

The following congressional committees are represented by the chairman of each, or his designee: The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The two minority members are appointed, one each, by the minority party of the Senate and of the House.

The five members from the private sector are appointed by majority vote of the Commission to serve for terms of 3 years.

The purposes of the Advisory Committee are (1) to meet with the Freedom Commission not less often than quarterly and to consult with it concerning its activities, (2) to review the activities of the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy and to make recommendations for the improvement of those activities, (3) to promote cooperation between the Freedom Commission, the private sector, and the Government agencies represented, and (4) to report annually to the President, the Congress, and the Commission, recommendations for the improvement of the activities of the Commission and an appraisal of the administration and operation of the act.

In comparison, it may be noted that the Atomic Energy Act likewise establishes a "General Advisory Committee" and also authorizes the appointment of "advisory boards" to fulfill its special and diverse needs. The General Advisory Committee, as established by section 26 of that act, is composed of nine members appointed from civilian life by the President who serve to advise the Atomic Energy Commission on scientific and technical matters relating to materials, production, and research and development. The "advisory boards," authorized by section 161a of that act, may be appointed to advise with, and make recommendations to, the Atomic Energy Commission on legislation, policies, administration, research, and other matters.

In addition, section 201 of the Atomic Energy Act establishes a "Joint Committee on Atomic Energy," composed of nine members of the Senate appointed by the President thereof, and nine Members of the House appointed by the Speaker thereof. Not more than five members shall be members of the same political party. This Joint Committee functions in a manner similar to the Joint Congressional Freedom Committee provided for in sections 14-20 of the bills for a Freedom Commission Act filed by Mr. Gubser (H.R. 1033) and Mr. Ashbrook (H.R. 5784). The purpose of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is to make studies of the activities of the Commission and to report to the Congress by bill or otherwise their recommendations with respect to matters within the jurisdiction of their respective Houses, with authority to hold hearings or investigations and to subpoena witnesses and documents.

We adopt the view that an Advisory Committee as established by section 13 of the bill (H.R. 9713) is most desirable and appropriate for the purposes of the Freedom Commission Act. This Advisory Committee embraces the desirable and pertinent features of the Advisory Committee, boards, and Joint Congressional Committee established under the Atomic Energy Act, and also those contained in the various Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy bills considered by the committee. By doing so, it includes on the Advisory Committee representatives of all elements which have a vital interest in the successful operations of the Academy—the executive, the Congress, and the private sector.

Section 14. Appropriations

This section authorizes the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

DEPARTMENTAL OPINIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., March 29, 1965.

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS,
Chairman, Un-American Activities Committee,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Department appreciates the opportunity to comment on H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 4389, bills to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy, which you forwarded to the Department.

These bills are identical in purpose and scope to proposals submitted in previous sessions of Congress and on which the Department has commented. On these occasions, we expressed appreciation of the purposes of the sponsors and recognized the merits of certain aspects of the proposal, but expressed the belief that the bill as a whole would not serve as a useful instrument of national policy.

The sponsors of the Freedom Commission bills urge correctly, in the Department's view, that in our struggle with the forces of tyranny—and communism in particular—we must employ not only military strength but also all of the political, psychological, economic and other nonmilitary means at our disposal. The President has given to the Department of State a primary role in marshalling all of our resources in these fields which cut across many broad areas of Government responsibility. The integrated efforts of the foreign affairs and security agencies are as vital in developing the overall strategy and tactics of the cold war as in carrying them out. Expertise and operational experience are as important in the formulation of policy as they are in its execution. For this reason, the Department seriously questions whether comprehensive and realistic plans for dealing with the infinitely complex problems of U.S. foreign affairs can be developed by a new, separate Government agency, especially one without operational responsibilities.

The Freedom Commission proposals place great stress upon the mobilization or private citizens—domestic and foreign—to fight the cold war, and upon a systematic orientation of our citizens against communism. The proposals contemplate that these tasks be undertaken on a large scale by the executive branch of the Government.

While it is very useful in certain circumstances to train private U.S. citizens and foreign nationals, our primary need—and hence our first priority—is to improve in all possible ways the training of Government personnel involved in the day-to-day operation of our foreign affairs.

While the cost of implementing the Freedom Commission program has never been specified, various proponents have stated it would amount to several million dollars a year. We feel there are more effective ways to use such expenditures in our struggle for freedom.

Another problem raised by several of the Freedom Commission bills is Federal control. Under the provision entitled "Information center," the Freedom Commission would be "authorized to prepare, make, and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high schools, college, and community level instruction." There is further provision that the Commission can distribute such material on "such terms and conditions as it shall determine."

The Department doubts the value of any effort to centralize and standardize the dissemination of information in such areas. This would appear to be a marked departure from the traditional role of the Federal Government in the field of political education.

For these and other reasons, the Department cannot support the bills to create a Freedom Commission which are now before you.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that from the standpoint of the administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II.

GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., April 5, 1965.

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This letter is in reply to your request for the views of the Department of Defense on H.R. 470, H.R. 1033, H.R. 2215, H.R. 2379, and H.R. 4389, all of which propose the creation of a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy; for the purpose of developing an integrated body of knowledge to win the nonmilitary global struggle between freedom and communism, and to train Government personnel and private citizens for this purpose.

The broad objectives of the proposed legislation are praiseworthy. However, the need for the creation of new agencies for their accomplishment is questionable. In most of their functions, the proposed agencies would duplicate the work of existing Government and/or private agencies.

While the Department of Defense questions the need for the establishment of a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy to accomplish the objectives of the proposed bills we defer to the State Department and other interested agencies more directly concerned for more authoritative views on this matter.

Approved For Release 2005/07/13 : CIA-RDP67B00446R000600070005-4
122 FREEDOM COMMISSION AND FREEDOM ACADEMY

The Bureau of the Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the administration's program, there is no objection to the presentation of this report for the consideration of the committee.

Sincerely,

L. NIEDERLEHNER,
Acting General Counsel.

○

Approved For Release 2005/07/13 : CIA-RDP67B00446R000600070005-4

Union Calendar No. 301

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 9713

[Report No. 629]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 8, 1965

Mr. ICHORD introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities

JULY 20, 1965

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

A BILL

To create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy, to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the non-military capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle between freedom and communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge, and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

I

1 SHORT TITLE

2 SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Freedom
3 Commission Act".

4 CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS AND STATEMENT OF POLICY

5 SEC. 2. (a) The Congress of the United States makes
6 the following findings and statement of policy:

7 (1) The United States in preparing to advance the
8 ideals of peace and freedom throughout the world and to
9 promote its national interests faces grave and complex
10 problems in the nonmilitary as well as military areas.

11 (2) First and foremost are the problems raised by the
12 unremitting drives by Communist governments and orga-
13 nizations seeking world domination and the destruction of all
14 non-Communist societies. The Communist bloc and the
15 various Communist parties have systematically prepared
16 themselves to wage a many-pronged aggression in the non-
17 military area. Drawing on their elaborate studies and exten-
18 sive pragmatic tests, Communist leaders have developed
19 their conspiratorial version of nonmilitary conflict into an
20 advanced, operational art in which they employ and orches-
21 trate an extraordinary variety of conflict instruments in the
22 political, psychological, ideological, economic, technological,
23 organizational, and paramilitary areas enabling them to ad-
24 vance their immediate and long-range objectives along many
25 paths. This creates unique and unprecedented problems for

1 the United States in a conflict that is being waged in student
2 organizations, peasant villages, labor unions, mass commu-
3 nication systems, in city and jungle, and institutions and
4 organizations of every description, as well as in the world's
5 chancelleries. Recognizing that nonmilitary conflict makes
6 extraordinary demands upon its practitioners, the Commu-
7 nists, for several decades, have intensively trained their
8 leadership groups and cadres in an extensive network of
9 basic, intermediate, and advanced schools. The capacity of
10 Communists to carry out their multifaceted attack on non-
11 Communist societies has been immeasurably increased by the
12 mobilization of research, science, industry, technology, and
13 education to serve the power-seeking ambitions of Commu-
14 nist leaders rather than the needs of their people.

15 (3) Second, the problems of the United States and
16 the free world are complicated by the emergence of many
17 new nations, the unstable or deteriorating political, social,
18 and economic conditions in many parts of the world, the
19 revolutionary forces released by the rising expectations of the
20 world's people, and other factors, all of which increase the
21 difficulties of achieving our national objectives of prevent-
22 ing Communist advances and seeking to build viable, free,
23 and independent nations.

24 (4) The nature of the Communist power drive, the
25 revolutionary and fluid world situation, the emergence of

1 the United States as the major leader of the free world, and
2 the need to deal with the people of nations as well as gov-
3 ernments, has compelled the United States to employ many
4 new instruments under the headings of traditional diplomacy,
5 intelligence, technical assistance, aid programs, trade de-
6 velopment, educational exchange, cultural exchange, and
7 counterinsurgency (as well as in the area of related military
8 programs). To interrelate and program these present in-
9 struments over long periods already requires a high degree
10 of professional competence in many specialties, as well as
11 great managerial skill.

12 (5) However, the United States has fallen short in
13 developing and utilizing its full capacity to achieve its objec-
14 tives in the world struggle. Not only is there need to
15 improve the existing instruments, but a wide range of addi-
16 tional methods and means, in both the Government and
17 private sectors, must be worked out and integrated with the
18 existing instruments of our policy. Otherwise, the United
19 States will lack the means to defeat many forms of Commu-
20 nist aggression and to extend the area of freedom, national
21 independence, and self-government, as well as to attain
22 other national objectives. However, this will require an
23 intensive and comprehensive research and training effort,
24 first, to develop these additional methods and means, and,
25 second, to educate and train not only specialists, but also

1 leaders at several levels who can visualize and organize these
2 many instruments in an integrated strategy, enabling the
3 United States to achieve its national objectives along every
4 path in accord with its ethic.

5 (6) There has been a tendency to regard strategy as
6 a means of dealing with a series of individually distinct
7 problems with planning often restricted by jurisdictional
8 walls and parochial attitudes and too much piecemeal plan-
9 ning to handle emergencies at the expense of systematic,
10 long-range development and programing of the many meth-
11 ods and means potentially available. While there has been
12 marked improvement in such things as language training
13 at agency schools, and while university centers have made
14 significant progress in area studies, nowhere has the United
15 States established a training program to develop well-
16 rounded strategists in the nonmilitary area or even certain
17 vital categories of professional specialists, particularly in
18 the area of political, ideological, psychological, and organi-
19 zational operations. Nor has the United States organized
20 a research program which can be expected to develop the
21 important additional range of methods and means that could
22 be utilized by the Government and private sectors.

23 (7) Finally, the cause of freedom has been severely
24 handicapped by the inhibited attitude of the United States
25 toward the education and training of foreign nationals. No-

6

1 where, with limited exceptions, is education and training
2 provided for foreign nationals which will acquaint them, in
3 depth, with the varied techniques of Communist subversion
4 and insurgency and the methods and means that may be
5 developed and utilized to defeat them while seeking to build
6 free, independent, and viable societies. Yet, the principal
7 burden of repelling Communist subversion and insurgency
8 must be borne by the citizens of the nations involved.

9 (8) In implementing this legislation the following re-
10 quirements for developing the national capacities of the
11 United States and other nations for global operations in the
12 nonmilitary area should receive special attention:

13 I. At the upper levels of Government, the United States
14 must have well-rounded strategists with intensive inter-
15 departmental training and experience who understand com-
16 munism, the range of instruments utilized by its forces, and
17 also those potentially available to the United States and all
18 freedom-loving peoples, and who can organize and program
19 these instruments over long periods in an integrated, for-
20 ward strategy that systematically develops and utilizes the
21 Nation's full capacity for the global struggle.

22 II. Below them, Government personnel must be trained
23 to understand and implement this integrated strategy in all
24 of its dimensions. Through intensive training, as well as

7

1 experience, the United States must seek the highest pro-
2 fessional competence in those areas of specialized knowledge
3 required by its global operations. Government personnel
4 should have a basic understanding of the nature of the global
5 conflict, the goals of the United States, and the methods and
6 means that could be used to achieve these goals in co-
7 ordinated operations. A high degree of elan and dedication
8 should be instilled in all Government personnel.

9 III. Foreign affairs and national security personnel at
10 all levels must understand communism with special emphasis
11 on Communist nonmilitary conflict techniques. It is not
12 enough to have experts available for consultation. This is
13 basic knowledge which must be widely disseminated among
14 such personnel, if planning and implementation are to be
15 geared to the existing conflict.

16 IV. The private sector must understand how it can par-
17 ticipate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic
18 manner. There exists in the private sector a huge reservoir
19 of talent, ingenuity, and strength which should be devel-
20 oped and brought to bear in helping to solve many global
21 problems. This Nation has hardly begun to explore the
22 range of possibilities.

23 V. The public must have a deeper understanding of
24 communism, especially Communist nonmilitary conflict tech-

1 niques, and the nature of the global struggle, including the
2 goals of the United States.

3 VI. Foreign nationals should understand all forms of
4 Communist subversion and insurgency and the wide range
5 of methods and means potentially available to defeat them
6 while seeking to build free, independent, and viable nations;
7 and they should be motivated to achieve these goals.

8 (9) The Freedom Academy shall be maintained as an
9 institution of the highest standards and every effort shall be
10 made to demonstrate that it is a major undertaking by the
11 United States in a vital area.

12 (b) It is the intent and purpose of the Congress that
13 the authority and powers granted in this Act be fully utilized
14 by the Commission established by section 4 of this Act to
15 achieve the objectives set forth in subsection (a) (8) of
16 this section.

17 DEFINITIONS

18 SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

19 (1) The term "Commission" means the Freedom Com-
20 mission established by section 4 of this Act; and

21 (2) The term "Academy" means the Freedom Acad-
22 emy established by section 6 of this Act.

23 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDOM COMMISSION

24 SEC. 4. There is established in the executive branch of
25 the Government an independent agency to be known as the

1 Freedom Commission which shall be composed of six mem-
2 bers and a Chairman, each of whom shall be a citizen of the
3 United States. The Chairman may from time to time desig-
4 nate any other member of the Commission as Acting Chair-
5 man to act in the place and stead of the Chairman during
6 his absence. The Chairman (or the Acting Chairman in
7 the absence of the Chairman) shall preside at all meetings of
8 the Commission, and a quorum for the transaction of business
9 shall consist of at least four members present. Each member
10 of the Commission, including the Chairman, shall have equal
11 responsibility and authority in all decisions and actions of the
12 Commission, shall have full access to all information relating
13 to the performance of his duties or responsibilities, and shall
14 have one vote. Action of the Commission shall be deter-
15 mined by a majority vote of the members present. The
16 Chairman (or Acting Chairman in the absence of the Chair-
17 man) shall be the official spokesman of the Commission in
18 its relations with the Congress, Government agencies, per-
19 sons, or the public, and, on behalf of the Commission, shall
20 see to the faithful execution of the policies and decisions of
21 the Commission, and shall report thereon to the Commission
22 from time to time or as the Commission may direct. The
23 Commission shall have an official seal which shall be
24 judicially noticed.

1 MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

2 SEC. 5. (a) Members of the Commission and the
3 Chairman shall be appointed by the President, by and with
4 the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than four
5 members, including the Chairman, may be members of any
6 one political party. In submitting any nomination to the
7 Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and
8 qualifications of the nominee. It is the intent of the Congress
9 that the membership of the Commission shall include at least
10 two members having substantial experience in the private
11 sector. The term of each member of the Commission, other
12 than the Chairman, shall be six years, except that (1) the
13 terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire
14 as designated by the President at the time of the appoint-
15 ment, two at the end of two years, two at the end of four
16 years, and two at the end of six years; and (2) any member
17 appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration
18 of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be
19 appointed for the remainder of such term. The Chairman
20 shall serve as such during the pleasure of the President, and
21 shall receive compensation at the rate of \$30,000 per annum.
22 Each other member of the Commission shall receive com-
23 pensation at the rate of \$28,500 per annum. Any member
24 of the Commission may be removed by the President for
25 inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

1 (b) No member of the Commission shall engage in
2 any business, vocation, or employment other than that of
3 serving as a member of the Commission.

4 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDOM ACADEMY; PRINCIPAL
5 FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION AND ACADEMY

6 SEC. 6. (a) The Commission shall establish under its
7 supervision and control an advanced research, development,
8 and training center to be known as the Freedom Academy.
9 The Academy shall be located at such place or places within
10 the United States as the Commission shall determine. The
11 principal functions of the Commission and Academy shall be:
12 (1) To conduct research designed to improve the
13 methods and means by which the United States seeks its
14 national objectives in the nonmilitary part of the global
15 struggle. This should include improvement of the present
16 instruments and exploration of the full range of additional
17 methods and means that may be available in both the Gov-
18 ernment and private sectors. Special attention shall be given
19 to problems of an interdepartmental nature and to problems
20 involved in organizing and programing the full spectrum of
21 methods and means potentially available in the Government
22 and private sectors in an integrated, forward strategy that
23 will systematically develop and utilize the full capacity of
24 the United States to seek its national objectives in the global
25 struggle, including the defeat of all forms of Communist

12

1 aggression and the building of free, independent, and viable
2 nations.

3 (2) To educate and train Government personnel and
4 private citizens so as to meet the requirements set forth in
5 section 2 (a) (8) of this Act. The Academy shall be the
6 principal Government interdepartmental, educational, and
7 training center for the United States in the nonmilitary area
8 of the global struggle.

9 (3) To educate and train foreign nationals so as to meet
10 the requirements set forth in section 2 (a) (8) (VI) of this
11 Act, when this is in the national interest and is approved by
12 the Secretary of State.

13 (4) To provide leadership in encouraging and assisting
14 universities and other institutions to increase and improve
15 research, educational, and training programs attuned to the
16 purposes of this Act.

17 (5) To provide guidance and assistance to the training
18 staffs of Government agencies involved in the global struggle,
19 including training programs conducted at overseas posts.

20 (6) To provide a center where officers and employees of
21 Government agencies, as well as private citizens, and foreign
22 nationals, can meet to discuss and explore common and
23 special elements of their problems in improving the capabili-
24 ties of the United States and other nations in the global
25 struggle.

1 (b) The Commission shall transmit to the President and
2 the Congress in January of each year a report containing a
3 comprehensive description of the plans, programs, and ac-
4 tivities of the Commission and Academy during the preceding
5 calendar year.

6 STUDENT SELECTION; GRANTS; ADMISSION OF FOREIGN
7 STUDENTS

8 SEC. 7. (a) Academy students, other than Government
9 personnel, shall be selected, insofar as is practicable and in
10 the public interest, from those areas, organizations, and insti-
11 tutions where trained leadership and informed public opinion
12 are most needed to achieve the objectives set forth in section
13 2 (a) (8) IV, V, and VI. Persons in Government service
14 coming within the provisions of the Government Employees
15 Training Act may be trained at the Academy pursuant to
16 the provisions of said Act. All agencies and departments
17 of Government are authorized to assign officers and em-
18 ployees to the Academy for designated training.

19 (b) The Commission is authorized to make grants to
20 students and to pay expenses incident to training and study
21 under this Act. This authorization shall include authority
22 to pay actual and necessary travel expenses to and from the
23 Academy or other authorized place of training under this
24 Act. The Commission is authorized to grant financial as-

1 sistance to the dependents of students who hold no office or
2 employment under the Federal Government during the time
3 they are undergoing training authorized under this Act.
4 Grants and other financial assistance under this Act shall be
5 in such amounts and subject to such regulations as the Com-
6 mission may deem appropriate to carry out the provisions
7 of this Act.

8 (c) Foreign students selected for training under this
9 Act shall be admitted as nonimmigrants under section 101
10 (a) (15) (F) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8
11 U.S.C. 1101 (a) (15) (F)) for such time and under such
12 conditions as may be prescribed by regulations promulgated
13 by the Commission, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney
14 General. A person admitted under this section who fails
15 to maintain the status or to abide the conditions under which
16 he was admitted, or who fails to depart from the United
17 States at the expiration of the time for which he was ad-
18 mitted, or who engages in activities detrimental to the in-
19 terests of the United States, or in activities in conflict with
20 the security of the United States, shall, upon the warrant
21 of the Attorney General, be taken into custody and promptly
22 deported pursuant to sections 241, 242, and 243 of the Im-
23 migration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1251, 1252, and
24 1253). Deportation proceedings under this section shall be
25 summary and findings of the Attorney General as to matters

1 of fact shall be conclusive. Such persons shall not be eligible
2 for suspension of deportation under section 244 of such Act
3 (8 U.S.C. 1254).

4 INFORMATION CENTER

5 SEC. 8. The Commission is authorized to establish an
6 information center at such place or places within the United
7 States as the Commission may determine. The principal
8 function of the information center shall be to disseminate,
9 with or without charge, information and materials which will
10 assist people and organizations to increase their understand-
11 ing of the true nature of the international Communist con-
12 spiracy and of the dimensions and nature of the global
13 struggle between freedom and communism, and of ways they
14 can participate effectively toward winning that struggle and
15 building free, independent, and viable nations. The Com-
16 mission is authorized to disseminate such information and
17 materials to such persons, organizations, and institutions as
18 may be in the public interest on such terms and conditions
19 as the Commission shall determine.

20 DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION

21 SEC. 9. Nothing in this Act shall authorize the dis-
22 closure of any information or knowledge in any case in which
23 such disclosure (1) is prohibited by any other law of the
24 United States, or (2) is inconsistent with the security of the
25 United States.

16

1 SECURITY CHECK OF PERSONNEL

2 SEC. 10. (a) Except as authorized by the Commission
3 upon a determination by the Commission that such action is
4 clearly consistent with the national interest, no individual
5 shall be employed by the Commission, nor shall the Com-
6 mission permit any individual to have access to information
7 which is, for reasons of national security, specifically desig-
8 nated by a United States Government agency for limited or
9 restricted dissemination or distribution until the Civil Serv-
10 ice Commission shall have made an investigation and report
11 to the Commission on the character, associations, and loyalty
12 of such individual, and the Commission shall have determined
13 that employing such individual or permitting him to have
14 access to such information will not endanger the common
15 defense and security. Members and employees of the Com-
16 mission are declared to occupy positions materially affecting
17 the national security.

18 (b) In the event an investigation made pursuant to
19 subsection (a) of this section develops any data reflecting
20 that the individual who is the subject of the investigation is
21 of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk, the
22 Civil Service Commission shall refer the matter to the Fed-
23 eral Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full field
24 investigation, the results of which shall be furnished to the

1 Civil Service Commission for its information and appropriate
2 action.

3 (c) If the Commission deems it to be in the national
4 interest, the Commission may request the Civil Service Com-
5 mission to make an investigation and report to the Commis-
6 sion on the character, associations, and loyalty of any indi-
7 vidual under consideration for training at the Academy, and
8 if the Commission shall then determine that the training of
9 such individual will not be in the best interest of the United
10 States, he shall receive no training under this Act.

11 (d) In the event an investigation made pursuant to
12 subsection (c) of this section develops any data reflecting
13 that the individual who is the subject of the investigation is
14 of questionable loyalty or is a questionable security risk,
15 the Civil Service Commission shall refer the matter to the
16 Federal Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full
17 field investigation, the results of which shall be furnished to
18 the Civil Service Commission for its information and appro-
19 priate action.

20 (e) If the President or the Commission shall deem it to
21 be in the national interest, he or the Commission may from
22 time to time cause investigation of any individual which is
23 required or authorized by subsections (a) and (c) of this

18

1 section to be made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation
2 instead of by the Civil Service Commission.

3 GENERAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSION

4 SEC. 11. (a) In addition to the authority already
5 granted, the Commission is authorized and empowered—

6 (1) to establish such temporary or permanent
7 boards and committees as the Commission may from
8 time to time deem necessary for the purposes of this
9 Act;

10 (2) subject to the provisions of subsection (b)
11 of this section, to appoint and fix the compensation of
12 such personnel as may be necessary to carry out the
13 provisions of this Act;

14 (3) to conduct such research, studies, and surveys
15 as the Commission may deem necessary to carry out the
16 purposes of this Act;

17 (4) to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend
18 such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry
19 out the purposes of this Act;

20 (5) to make such expenditures as may be neces-
21 sary for administering and carrying out the provisions of
22 this Act;

23 (6) to utilize, with the approval of the President,
24 the services, facilities, and personnel of other Govern-
25 ment agencies and pay for such services, facilities, and

19

1 personnel out of funds available to the Commission under
2 this Act, either in advance, by reimbursement, or by
3 direct transfer;

4 (7) to utilize or employ on a full-time or part-time
5 basis, with the consent of the organization or govern-
6 mental body concerned, the services of personnel of any
7 State or local government or private organization to
8 perform such functions on its behalf as may appear
9 desirable to carry out the purposes of this Act, without
10 requiring such personnel to sever their connection with
11 the furnishing organization or governmental body; and
12 to utilize personnel of a foreign government in the same
13 manner and under the same circumstances with the
14 approval of the Secretary of State;

15 (8) to acquire by purchase, lease, loan, or gift,
16 and to hold and dispose of by sale, lease, or loan, real and
17 personal property of all kinds necessary for, or resulting
18 from, the exercise of authority granted by this Act;

19 (9) to receive and use funds donated by others, if
20 such funds are donated without restrictions other than
21 that they be used in furtherance of one or more of the
22 purposes of this Act;

23 (10) to accept and utilize the services of volun-
24 tary and uncompensated personnel and to provide trans-

1 portation and subsistence as authorized by section 5 of
2 the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C.
3 73b-2) for persons serving without compensation;

4 (11) to utilize the services of persons on a tempo-
5 rary basis and to pay their actual and necessary travel
6 expenses and subsistence and, in addition, compensation
7 at a rate not to exceed \$100 per day for each day spent
8 in the work of the Commission.

9 (b) The personnel referred to in subsection (a) (2) of
10 this section shall be appointed in accordance with the provi-
11 sions of the civil service laws and regulations and the Classifi-
12 cation Act of 1949, as amended, except that,
13 in the absence of suitably qualified United States citizens,
14 it may appoint and compensate persons who are not citizens
15 of the United States: *Provided*, That when deemed neces-
16 sary for the effective administration of this Act, members of
17 the faculty may be appointed and compensated without re-
18 gard to such laws and regulations: *Provided further*, That
19 such members of the faculty shall receive a salary at a rate
20 based on comparable salaries provided by leading universities,
21 but not to exceed the rate provided for GS-18 of the Classifi-
22 cation Act of 1949, as amended. The Commission shall
23 make adequate provision for administrative review of any
24 determination to dismiss any employee.

21

1 GENERAL MANAGER OF THE COMMISSION

2 SEC. 12. The Commission is authorized to establish
3 within the Commission a general manager, who shall dis-
4 charge such of the administrative and executive functions
5 of the Commission as the Commission may direct. The
6 general manager shall be appointed by the Commission,
7 shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission, shall be re-
8 movable by the Commission, and shall receive compensation
9 at a rate determined by the Commission, but not in excess
10 of \$27,500 per annum.

11 ADVISORY COMMITTEE

12 SEC. 13. (a) To assist the Commission and to assure
13 effective cooperation between it, the private sector, and vari-
14 ous Government agencies concerned with the objectives of
15 this Act, there is established an advisory committee to the
16 Freedom Academy (referred to hereinafter as the "Com-
17 mittee"). The Committee shall be composed of—

18 (1) one representative of each of the following
19 agencies designated by the head of each such agency
20 from officers and employees thereof: The Department
21 of State; the Department of Defense; the Department
22 of Commerce; the Department of Labor; the Depart-
23 ment of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Central
24 Intelligence Agency; the Federal Bureau of Investiga-

1 tion; the Agency for International Development; and
2 the United States Information Agency;

3 (2) the Chairman, or his designee, from each of
4 the following committees of Congress: the Senate Com-
5 mittee on Foreign Relations, the Senate Committee on
6 the Judiciary, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs,
7 and the House Committee on Un-American Activities;

8 (3) *one Member of the Senate selected by the Mem-*
9 *bers of the Senate who are members of the political party*
10 *having the second greatest number of members in the*
11 *Senate; and one member of the House of Representatives*
12 *selected by the Members of the House of Representatives*
13 *who are members of the political party having the second*
14 *greatest number of members in the House of Repre-*
15 *sentatives;*

16 ~~(3)~~ (4) five representatives from the private sector
17 who shall be appointed by a majority vote of the Com-
18 mission to serve for a term of three years.

19 (b) Members of the Committee shall elect a member
20 to serve as Chairman of the Committee. The term of the
21 Chairman shall be one year.

22 (c) No governmental member of the Committee shall
23 receive compensation for his services as such other than that
24 received by him as an officer or employee of the agency rep-
25 resented by him. Members representing the private sector

1 shall be compensated at a rate not to exceed \$100 per day for
2 each day spent in the work of the Committee. Each member
3 of the Committee shall be reimbursed for expenses actually
4 and necessarily incurred by him in the performance of duties
5 of the Committee. Such reimbursements shall be made from
6 funds appropriated to the Freedom Commission upon
7 vouchers approved by the Chairman of the Committee.

8 (d) The Committee shall—

9 (1) meet with the Freedom Commission peri-
10 odically, but not less often than quarterly, to consult with
11 it with regard to the plans, programs, and activities of
12 the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy;

13 (2) review from time to time the plans, programs,
14 and activities of the Freedom Commission and the Free-
15 dom Academy, and transmit to the Commission such
16 recommendations as it may determine to be necessary or
17 desirable for the improvement of those plans, programs,
18 and activities;

19 (3) promote cooperation between the Freedom
20 Commission, the private sector, and the Government
21 agencies represented in the Committee; and

22 (4) transmit to the President, the Congress, and
23 the Commission in January of each year a report con-
24 taining its recommendations for the improvement of the

1 plans, programs, and activities of the Commission and
2 Academy, together with its appraisal of the operation
3 and administration of the Act.

4 (c) The Committee shall promulgate such rules and
5 regulations as it shall determine to be necessary for the
6 performance of its duties.

7 (f) The Commission shall furnish to the Committee
8 without reimbursement such office space, personal services,
9 supplies and equipment, information, and facilities as the
10 Committee may require for the performance of its functions.

11 **APPROPRIATIONS**

12 **SEC. 14.** There is authorized to be appropriated, out of
13 any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such
14 sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this
15 Act.

Union Calendar No. 301

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 9713

[Report No. 629]

A BILL

To create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy, to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle between freedom and communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge, and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions.

By Mr. ICHORD

JULY 8, 1965

Referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities

JULY 20, 1965

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed